1:Métraux--1 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uru SF24
Ancoaqui

[75]

Introduction

[121] [114] [101] [361] [161] It was solely with the intention of obtaining some elements of comparison for my Tupaya dictionary that I, in the company of Professor A. Posnansky, made a one week visit to the Uro of the Desaguadero in June, 1931. These Indians live in the village of Ancoaqui, on the right bank of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from the Bolivian port of Guaqui. There are only a handful of them, 40 at the very most. Even taking into account those who were absent and the small agglomerations spread throughout the region, I seriously doubt whether the remaining Uro number a hundred. It was, therefore, imperative to record their language. The case of the Uro is typical of the rudimentary and anarchic state of South American ethnography. For a long time these Indians have been considered one of the most interesting ethnic elements of the Andean region. Nevertheless, no one has thought of living among them and devoting a serious and methodical study to them. The excellent monograph of Dr. Rivet (1) and Mr. de Créqui

[Text continues on p. 3]

113 1. Créqui Montfort (G. de) and Rivet (P.). "La langue uru ou pukina /The Uru or Pukina Language/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, new series, Vol. XVII (1925), pp. 211-244; Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 111-199; Vol. XIX (1927), pp. 57-116. To the texts assembled in this article the following must be added:

113 105 McCutchen McBride (G.). "The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia." American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 5, New York, 1921, p. 17. "There are the Uros that dwell beside the Desaguadero, the river that drains

2/Mexico--3 F-5 (1930-1931) 193a, 1936 Sf'24 Uru Sf'24

Cayanga:-
Chipaya

/111 cont./

Foreword

121 In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations
101 that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion,
119 and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among
whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the
Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had
123 singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the
very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and
luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya,
convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my
distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/
124 to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an
Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and
who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a
member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/
as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting in-
quiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me.
Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover
the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered.
191 Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very
little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most
gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have
had pitiful informants in them.

121 A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would hardly,
I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they
had celebrated before me practically the entire cycle of their
main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would
[183] have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case
very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, un-
fold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual
religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these
198 Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not
forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 5]

[illegible] F-1 (1930-1931) 1930, 1938 SF2a Uru SF2a
Cayapa-
Cayapo

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The Tribe and Its Environment

[21] [20] Location of the Cipaya. The Cipaya Indians still make up today a small, semi-independent tribe situated in the southern part of Carangas Province in Oruro Department (Bolivia) (Map 1). The area of their territory is approximately 300 square kilometers (1).

[12]

1. In order to determine the exact location of the Cipaya and to guide myself during my trips in Carangas Province, I used the following maps: Mapa topográfico de la Altiplanicie central de Bolivia, trabajado en los años 1867 para el proyecto de canalización y ferrocarril a la ruta del Océano Pacífico /Topographic map of the central Altiplano of Bolivia, made in the years /sic/ 1867 for the project to build a canal and railroad to the coast of the Pacific Ocean/, by Hugo Reck; Part of the bolivian Table land from a Trigonometrical Survey executed for the National Government in 1892 by J.B. Minchin; Régions des hauts-plateaux de l'Amérique du Sud (Bolivie, Argentine, Chili, Pérou) parcourues par la mission française /Regions of the altiplano of South America (Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Peru) traversed by the French mission/ (G. de Créqui Montfort and E. Sénéchal de la Grange, 1903). Map drawn by

Carangas—
Chipaya

/114 cont./

penalty filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Stapleton's map, unanimously the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and 19° latitude south.

It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will help to explain the strength with which Aymara influences made itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Irpana, which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the southeast is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my observations and the remarks of the natives make the estimate the distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches Andamarca, near the Pampa, after three days on foot, and Orinoca, on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

Taking the data on the map of the Colegio Militar Minero as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320 Chipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain number of people who were absent or living in their "wayu houses." Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

1. Bacarezza (Zenón), "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor..... comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor..... commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

/190 cont./

4 *[147] 341 A 342 the circular hut is not exclusively peculiar to Chipaya. Near Toledo at Kxulliri an agglomeration exists formed of perfectly round huts which from a distance recall those of the Čipaya although much larger. I stopped for a night in this village to study them, but unfortunately having used up my store of film I could not take photographs of them. These huts were architecturally much more perfected than those of Chipaya. The dome which surmounted them although covered with straw did not rest on a frame of tola but on a cupola made of 22 tiers of clods whose perfection I could admire. The clods that composed it were smaller than in Chipaya and fitted with more care. Given the width the diameter of the hut, and its height, the erection of this roof must have demanded much time and not a little precision. When going through this village so like that of the Čipaya which I had just left, I though that I had discovered a new Uro tribe. My hypothesis was legitimate because the region which I 4 [101] was traversing had formerly been occupied by numerous ethnic islands of this race. I inquired among the inhabitants for the reasons which made them prefer the circular form of the huts to the rectangular plan adopted everywhere else in Aymara territory. They replied that they were obliged to build houses on this model because of lack of wood. The plain where the village of Kxulliri was standing does, in fact, very much recall in its bareness that of Chipaya. This is, I believe, the reason why the Čipaya also have kept the circular 4 A [829] hut of their ancestors. To construct a house on a rectangular plan with a double-pitched roof, wood is necessary, /191/ at the very least laths of Cereus, and this cactus does not grow everywhere. The Aymara who have been fortunate enough to have this plant close to them have been able to change the type of their primitive habitation. The others, less favored by nature or too poor to buy the necessary wood, have remained, like it or not, more conservative. Midway between Oruro and La Paz when traveling by train, one sees some villages on the right where the huts are round and of an identical construction with those of Kxulliri. Besides this Forbes (1)

2:Métraux--216 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/337/

The Uro Language

(Chipaya Dialect) (2)

2. Gathered by the author during January-February 1931.

Introduction

My trip to Chipaya had as its basic goal saving the Uro language. Nothing was closer to my heart during my entire stay than collecting as complete documentation as possible on this dying language. My zeal was sustained by the conviction that I was certainly the last ethnographer who would have the chance to gather the last sounds of an undoubtedly very old speech. I must admit that the results did not come up to my efforts and that I am far from having obtained the documents which I hoped to collect. Nevertheless, if my dictionary and texts give only a partial ideal of Uro-Chipaya, this is because in 1931 it was already too late to collect the elements of this language which would have permitted an exhaustive study of it. If the fatidic twelfth hour of which the German ethnographers love to speak has not already sounded for the Uro language, I can assure you that its days are numbered. Its disappearance is a matter of only a few years. Nothing is more disappointing than being present at the death of a language. Every instant one is confronted by gaps, by holes filled by foreign elements which give the language the appearance of a patched cloth. One would like to reconstruct the missing pieces, one hunts for words and expressions, but this pursuit is for the most part in vain: the word has disappeared from the consciousness of all the individuals composing the group. However painful an investigation conducted under these /338/ conditions may be, it does not lessen the possibility of making some interesting observations on the way in which one language is substituted for another. Uro, as much in Chipaya as

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

101 36 161 The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-Itu, or Angoake, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

731 133 A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

[101] [162] [137] At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Itu had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /totorales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

731 433 178 Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, hispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

161 [167] [887] [178] Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

356 [162] [144] In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

/146 cont./

161 According to the latest news the group of Iru-Itu seems to [162] be reduced to some 12 people, although since 1946 the level [133] of the lake has risen considerably; in February 1947 it had already risen 90 centimeters. This rising movement is continuing, and the totora beds are slowly beginning to reform.

[731] The old Uru remembered having seen in their youth, around 1870, an even worse drought than that of these last years. But at that time they were more numerous and the group was able to subsist. Now it is too diminished to reconstitute itself and its disappearance seems definite.

●101 I visited the Uru of Iru-Itu for the first time in 1938. During my stay in Bolivia from 1940 to 1944 I was in constant con- 121 tact with them. Their misery and their decline did not allow me to glean important observations on their material culture, already studied by the numerous ethnographers who have stayed among the Uru of the Desaguadero. Their imminent disappearance made it necessary, however, to bring together everything which might still exist among them: anthropological observations, traditions, and linguistic records, in order to compare them with the other populations of the region and especially with the different groups of fishers on Lake Titicaca.

These are the results of this study, the publication of which we are beginning.

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Note I

Accounts and Conversations

114 The linguistic records at our disposal on the Uru are reduced to some quick observations and more or less expanded vocabularies gathered by travelers in the course of brief stays in the region of Iru-Itu. Métraux is the only one to have published texts in the Chipaya dialect. No text exists in the Iru-Itu dialect, and the best sources of linguistic information on

/170 cont./

*539 731 178 433 511 23. We are going to sell them to the people of the other race, at three for one real.

/171/ Remarks

*539 731 178 161 433 This account, dictated by an old Uru about 90 years old, Manuel Inta, is a commentary on the wide dispersal of the Uru, undoubtedly permanent, after a series of years of drought, 1940 to 1946. In 1944 there were only a few old people in their old village of Iru-Itu. The drought had destroyed the vast swamps of the Desaguadero and their reed fields, the source of all the activity of these Indians, bringing about the disappearance of the conditions which had made it possible for them to maintain their ethnic individuality in the midst of the Aymara populations. These complaints express the bitterness of the old Urus, fishers and gatherers, obliged, in order not to starve to death, to change their economy, working [167] in the fields of their Aymara neighbors. The young Urus have dispersed, some having mingled with the Aymara or Amaracized fishers of Lake Titicaca, others having established themselves in Aymara villages or communities.

*539 192 193 [101] wáki, Bolivian village of Guaqui, on the small lake. ǒx'ša, literally, "different," the people of another race, the Aymaras. Note the particle ču intercalated between the root and the ending of the verb: Káya -čúčay, tánáču- čay, lúx-káču -čay, in order to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb and to indicate a customary action. The particle ki intercalated between the root of the verb and the ending čay indicates the future. The verb Káči- čay means "to engage in business," "to sell" as well as "to buy," or "to earn money." tumíni, a

*539 192 tomin (old Spanish coin): a word unknown to the present lake Aymaras but still used by some natives of the Puno region.

Note three other Hispanicisms: 1. kustúmbro, "custom"; 5. isú-čay, esto or eso, "that"; 17. ni- únu, "this alone," from the Spanish uno, "one."

/171 cont./

*539 192 193 1. píni means "many"; with hána it may be rendered by "no more"; učúmi, exclusive personal pronoun /172/ for the first person plural. 2. šalák, probably the Spanish chacra, "cultivated field"; the Uru do not have their own word to designate fields. 4. The ending čay added to a root gives it [136] the verbal form. 6. xui, interrogative particle. 7. suche, small kind of sheatfish from the Titicaca region; it is the [804] Trichomycterus dispar. 8. totora, Scirpus totora, the reeds of Lake Titicaca used by the Uru to build their balsas, cover their houses, and for other uses. 12. ke-, particle of repeti- [101] tion. 14. tòxša, literally "other persons," designates all men other than the Uru; nak' for náka, plural form of pronouns.

*539 396

II. Manufacture of Balsas from Totoras
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 154 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

[283] 1. Let us go, as is our custom, to find totoras to make a balsa. 2. We are accustomed to go far to make the straw ropes /necessities/. 3. Three days are needed to dry (the straw ropes). 4. The straw ropes are well dried now. 5. Now all these totoras are well dried. 6. Let us make the balsa. 7. A man cuts the totora. 8. The totora is tied (in bunches). 9. Three have to be made (bunches of totora): the heart (the middle spindle) and the two side spindles of the balsa. 10. We tie (the spindles); now we are going to squeeze them together very tightly, at first it takes two men to squeeze it together. 11. We have the custom of sprinkling (the totora) with water so that it does not dry. 12. Now we are going to tighten; to tighten we are accustomed to use a hook. 13. We beat (the totora) with /173/ a rock (in order to compress it).

/181 cont./

*539 [501] it will not rot. 8. This is a balsa from the big lake. 9. Its prow is raised. 10. That one is a big balsa. 11. That one is a small balsa. 12. There are no other balsas. 13. This is a house of the other people (the Aymara). 14. This is a house of unburnt bricks (adobes). 15. This is a house of the Aymara community (lit., "of the other people"). 16. What more shall I tell thee? That is all. 17. Now I want to rest, oh father.

Remarks

*539 124 This text reproduces the comments of old Manuel Inta, looking at a series of photographs of his native village, Iru-Itu, and of the region. The photographs of Iru-Itu were recognized without difficulty; those of less familiar sites provoked various reflections before being well identified (13-15).

*539 193 1. xwí, interrogative particle; kapílá, this is the Spanish word capilla, "chapel." 4. We have not found any passive form among the Uru; to express the idea "has been seen from the back," the informant used the active voice: cèrk'- ku ţi- nís- čay (1 2 3), literally one he has seen (2 3 1); ku indicates the recent past. It must be noted that this cast of mind was spontaneous, no question having been put to him; ţ used in the text is an elision for i, "one," and has suffered a contraction with the previous vowel. 9. hoća expresses the idea of "point," being able to indicate as well as the raised prow of the balsa, a mountain summit, the nose, or the verb "to point" in the sense of being in a pointed form. 9-10-11. The narrator describes the three *539 [501] principal types of balsas of the Uru: with a raised, pointed prow for navigation on Titicaca (big lake); the big fishing balsas of the Desaguadero for three or four people, and the small balsas for one or two people. 13-15. tòxša, "others," or tòxša náka, /182/ "other people," the usual way to designate

[101 829]

/182 cont./

*539 101 829 the Aymara used by the Uru, who consider themselves as constituting a pre-human species (not a race) apart. There are two human species, the Uru, a primitive species representing the first, pre-human creations, and the Aymara, who belong, as do all the other present-day people, to the last creation.

*539 192 [648] 15. Note a Hispanicism, kumunitá, to designate the native community of Jesus de Machaca, upon which the Uru are now dependent; it is an idea which is foreign to their own sociology.

16-17. The narrator, tired by his interpretive efforts, has no more to say and wants to rest. Note the polite form háp'- pay, [576] father," corresponding to "monsieur."

*539 821

VIII. Xoxi-cay, the Thunder
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 166 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. It will still thunder very strongly; the storm is coming. 2. The roof of the house will let the water through; it is not good at all. 3. Look again to see if the storm is going away. 4. It is thundering again. 5. The thunder can only kill a person of another race. 6. Never, since the most ancient times, has the thunder killed one of us. 7. The thunder has made me very afraid.

Remarks

This text makes allusion to a very deeply rooted belief among the Uru: they cannot be struck by lightning, so feared by all the populations of the altiplano. According to them [829] lightning only strikes the people "of another race": Aymaras, half-breeds, or Europeans. Also the Uru do not have any

[pg 20 omitted in pagination.]

/184/

*539 764

IX. Funeral Customs
(Account by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 167 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

[1975] [1982] 1. We others, we have the custom of making a meal in honor of the soul. 2. We offer libations to the souls. 3. At night we have the custom of digging (the grave). 4. Then we have the custom of coming to burn (the clothes of the dead person). 5. We have the custom of burning the clothes of the soul. 6. Let us go burn these clothes. 7. Let us light the fire. 8. We burn only the clothes.

Remarks

In this short account the informant summarizes several funeral practices of the Uru. At first it is the evening of the funeral, during which relatives and friends eat in honor of the dead person (1) to whom libations of alcohol, chicha, and coca are offered (2). After the burial, without a coffin, in a simple ditch dug during the night (3), and which will not subsequently be marked by anything, the clothes of the dead person are burned.

*539 764 191 These practices are very different from those of the other natives of the Cordillera, speakers of Aymara or Kešwa, who gather several days after the burial to wash the dead man's clothes and divide them up. The customs of the Uru recall those of numerous Amazonian groups.

The complete abandonment of the grave after burial must also be noted; it contrasts with the care which other populations of the Cordillera give to graves.

*539 ●101 193 1. učúmi; this is the personal pronoun of the first person plural, with the exclusive meaning "we others, the Urus."

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 23]

/185/

Urus." Some authors (Posnanski) have thought that ucúmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anontio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the name of Ochozuma. awíri or awári designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead, tíkistíkni-čay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pít'-čkíčay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ču followed by the pure root. 5. škít- ti designates clothes in general.

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking). 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

/29/

121 In several previous works we have cited a series of his-
175 toric documents on the Uru.

Some of these documents were published by Créqui-Montfort and Rivet in their study on "La langue uru ou Pukina /The Uru or Puquina Language/," which appeared in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, XVII, XVIII, and XIX, 1925, 1927.

Others are unpublished or were published individually in hard-to-obtain periodicals.

It seemed to us necessary, as a sequel to Créqui-Montfort's and Rivet's work, to publish the texts of some of these documents. We were unable to reproduce them in their entirety, but we extracted from them the chief passages concerning the Uru.

For other, recent works, we have merely listed bibliographic references.

Notes on the Uru

●101 The Uru give themselves the name of Kot'suñs, "people of the Lake." In old tales they are sometimes called uchumi (ouchoumi), a personal pronoun of the first person plural with an exclusive sense, meaning in their language "we, the like of us" as opposed to other men. The name ochozuma, found in Father de la Calancha's chronicle, corresponds to uchumi suñs (ouchoumi souñs), literally "our people" or "we, our kind of people," as opposed to other peoples. The Uru call other men toxs'naka, "different people," or kont'sun'chay, "dry men," "land people." Similarly, Aymaricized fishermen call Aymara agriculturalists huaña hake, also /meaning/ "dry men."

The Aymara of the settlements call their Uru neighbors /30/ uru or uro (ourou, ouro), giving the second u a sound

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

● 101 between ou and o /French sounds/; or else urito (ourito), an affectionate diminutive, or chana wawa, "younger children." But at the same time they give them the contemptuous name of hosle or huslé, "bastard," without father or master," or on the other hand the very respectful one of hakê waka, "sacred men."

The fishermen of Lake Titicaca are called by the other natives uru, uro, kotá-hakê ("men of the Lake"), uma-hake ("water men"), and chaihua-uira ("fishermen") in Aymara; laguneros /"lake men"/ in Spanish; uru, uru-kuna ("Uru men"), cocha kuna ("men of the Lake"), kocha-la ("those who go on the lake"), in Quechua.

Documents of the Spanish Chroniclers

101 175 Morua (Fr. Martin de)

...but since the peoples of Peru are many, very different in appearance /forma/ and language, according to the bigness of the region and province, they did not all live in the same manner nor did they have the same customs, but in some parts some are very slow and dull, as in Collao and other areas; [131] [262] because some lived close to the great lake of Titicaca and subsisted on the totora and fish that were found in the lake, and these were called Uros, and their descendants exist today, and of the others, Collas and Puquinas, some of them or generally most raise livestock, and some live near the said 195 lake, intermixed with the said Uros; and these eat raw fish, [262] which they catch with rafts made of totoras; and they wore [501] clothes made of common reed-grass, which they reaped and [291] cut on the lake shore and wove like mats, and with it they [294] made a sort of jacket which they were accustomed to wear; [241] and they do not sow anything, nor do they trouble to make [342] houses, but they merely subsist on plants, although there also [222] exists among them a seed similar to millo, which grows on

[16th Century]

/31 cont./

[175] They build their houses on the water on rafts of hay or rushes, [342] which in Peru are called totora and in New Spain tule...."

[262] ...They subsist on the fish of the lakes, which is abundant, [181] although not very good....They dress badly and eat, aside from fish, what they can steal from their neighbors on land; they are crude and coarse and almost bestial people. They [648] were not accustomed to pay tribute or service; and on a general [651] visit that Don Francisco de Toledo made he had them entered in a tax register and settled off the water, and thus they now pay tribute and service and live under the Church and in some order..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción del Reyno del Perú /Description of the Kingdom of Peru/..., 1597. Quoted by Victor M. Maurtua: Juicio de limites entre el Perú y Bolivia /Arbitration of boundaries between Peru and Bolivia/, Barcelona, 1906, I, 295-296.)

/32/ Herrera (Antonio de)

[824] ...in (this lake of Titicaca) there grow large quantities of a reed which they call totora, which is fodder for horses and pigs, and which the Uro Indians use to make houses and boats [101] and for food, and whatever else they need. These Uros are so wild, that when asked who they were, they replied that they were not men, but Uros, as though they were another species of animals..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y /General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and/..., Madrid, 1601-1615, III, 5th decade, p. 92.)

Acosta (Father José de)

[133] Into this lake (Titicaca) flow ten voluminous rivers, it has only one outlet and not a very large one, although it is said to be extremely deep; over which it is not possible to build a bridge, owing to the depth and breadth of the water, nor to cross over in a boat, owing to the fierceness of the current, according to what they say.

[16th Century]

/32 cont./

175 [491] [824] according to what they say. It[1] is crossed on a remarkable contrivance, peculiar to the Indies, a straw bridge placed on the water itself, which is of such light material that it does not sink, and it is a very safe and easy crossing...there grow large quantities of a type of reed that the Indians call totora, which they use for a thousand things, because it is food for pigs and for horses, and for the people themselves; and with it they make house and fire, and boat and whatever is needed; so much do the Uros find in their totora. These Uros are so [101] brutish that they themselves do not regard themselves as men. It is said of them that when asked what people they were they replied that they were not men but Uros, as though this were another class of animals. [361] Entire pueblos of Uros were found living on the lake, on their totora rafts, joined together and fastened to some large rock; and they may fetch themselves off from there and move a whole pueblo to another location; and thus when sought today where they were yesterday, no trace of them is to be found, or of their pueblo..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Historia natural y moral de las Indias /Natural and Moral History of the Indies/, 1590. Book II, Chap. VI.)

Noticia sobre los Indios Uros en un Memorial de la Epoca del Virrey Toledo /Note on the Uro Indians in a Memorial of the Epoch of the Toledo Viceroy/.

175 648 [511] The Inca, being below Lima, sent one of his captains, called Casiracapa, to those heights with many men, to survey the land and recount to him what he saw there, /33/ and while traveling through the land he came across some people whose dwellings were like those of animals, and who lived in them like brutish animals, around a large Lake, naked, and eating nothing but roots of plants that grew in the Lake, and some Fish if they caught it, and when the Captain saw these people, [728] [509] he recounted the fact to the Inca and was sent by him to remove them from the Lake and resettle them among the

[1] [i.e., Lake Titicaca outlet--Analyst]

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Neighboring Pueblos, and he removed and resettled them:
648 The damage they caused in the places where they were /re-
728 settled/ was such, since they stole all they could, that the
599 inhabitants, unable to bear with it, asked Casiracapa to rid them of those people, because they robbed them, ate their livestock, and were not useful in any way whatsoever; the Captain advised the Inca of this and he was ordered to return them to the Lake from which he had removed them, and to threaten them with the death penalty if they were to leave it;
[101] these people of whom I speak are called Uros, the lake where
[131] they were found is that of Paria where they are now plying their old trade, which is to steal and to eat; some have set up small
[262] villages, and they go out to steal, and it is astonishing what is said of these Indians, that they steal from the herders who live there a haul of pigs and eat it in one night, which if so many people did not attest to it would not be believable; I have ascertained that three Indians stole 12 sheep from the area and ate them in two days without leaving anything usable: they are infidels in addition, Your Excellency would perform a great service to Our Lord by removing them from there so
[356] that they and their descendants might become Christians, and giving them lodgings of some sort because their foul dwellings defy description. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Document contributed by Dr. Raul Porras Barrenechea.)

175 Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chuquito que estan en cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568. /Visit of the Indians of the Province of Chuquito Who Are on the Register of H. M. Lima, 1568/.

[14] This document from the General Archives of the Indies in Seville (A.G.I.), Justicia section, File No. 479, was analyzed by Marie Helmer in these Travaux, III, pp. 115-150, 1951.

[19th Century]

175 /36 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues
361 east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are
103 resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from
648 other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat less crude, but they are still without breeding....

197 ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town....
191 Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake....They
262 are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat
142 a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long
308 and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a
181 knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

101 In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of
131 Titicaca under the name of Ochozumas. These Indians were centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/ and on the small island of Similiake.

423 ...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all
489 defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths
926 throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, unaware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we
175 shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this
72 cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds, robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, stealing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great, they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

THE URU-CHIPAYA

By Weston La Barre

THE URU

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Uru* (*Uro, Huno, Ochomazo, Ochozuma, Uchumi, Kjotsuni, Bukina, Pukina, Puquina, Urocolla, Uroquilla, Yuracare* (not to be confused with eastern Bolivian *Yuracare*), *Kiuchacatati* or "Big-livered People," and *Chancumankkeri* or "Water-greens Eaters," the last two opprobrious *Aymara* nicknames, inhabit the region of Lake Titicaca and some of the watercourses of the inter-Andean Plateau (map 1, *No. 6;* map 4). "Uro" or "uru" seems to have been used commonly in the 17th century to mean "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. It is now the most common name of these people. They call their language *Puquina.*

The *Uru* language has no connection with either *Quechua* or *Aymara.* It is probably the same, however, as the *Puquina* of the 17th century (Oré, 1607), although it is not the same as the *Puquina-Uro* of De la Grasserie (1894). The *Puquina* spoken by the Desaguadero *Uru* is closely related to the *Chipaya* of Lake Poopó, and Métraux (1936 a) therefore established an *Uro-Chipaya* family. Rivet's classification of *Uru* as *Arawakan* has not been widely accepted by linguists. We consider *Uro-Chipaya* to be an independent linguistic family.

Uru was called a "lengua general" of Perú by 16th-century writers (the "Relaciones geográficas de Indias" in 1582 calls it "one of the three general languages of the kingdom"), although its known distribution at a later date was confined to a few people scattered on the islands of Lake Titicaca, in the Río Desaguadero swamps, and near Lake Poopó. Vázquez de Espinosa (1942) found *Puquina* spoken in Sucre and *Uru* settlements in the Cochabamba Valley. *Uru* evidently once had a much wider distribution than in recent times.

The Highland *Uru* all now speak both *Aymara* and *Uru*, and a few know a little Spanish.

The *Uru* of the coast of Tarapacá and Tacna are similar culturally to the *Chango* and are sometimes even called *Chango.* They are said to be descendants of the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca sent as colonists (mitimaes) in *Inca* times. But, as all now speak Spanish and no trace

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5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chearaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

6: Ruiz and Roca T-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is d i v i d e d into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleevless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on P. 217]

6: Ruiz and Roca T-3[illegible] (ca. 1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

of this gallant village which should be preserved because of its anthropological value and, above all, for its human value:

1.—Return of the extensions of pasture land of which the villagers were deprived by the neighboring Aymara communities.

2.—Periodic visits of medical and sanitary personnel in order to care for the minimal necessities of vaccination, care of the sick and preventative services.

3.—Teaching material to aid in operation of the school.

4.—Agricultural tools and basic training in improved practices of agriculture and animal husbandry.

5.—Realization of a scientific study comparable to that done by Métraux thirty years ago, to be extended to the neighboring Aymara communities in order to determine the degree of influence which one town has had upon the other. Likewise, a detailed study of the remaining branches of ethnography and folklore of the Chipayas.

6.—A plan of archeological excavations on the site called Los Chapel five kilometers to the north-west of the town of Santa Ana de Chipaya, which appears to be the ancient residence of the Chipaya people, according to their own account, during the period in which they were still *chullpas*.

7.—The establishment of contact, for study purposes, with the Morato Indian group, apparently a sub-group of the Chipaya tribe, which at the present time, in reduced numbers, carries on a nomadic life in the territory to the south-west of the Chipaya and whose members speak a distinct language".

(From *Educación Boliviana*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 31-33).

[p 219]

IT MIGHT STILL BE A.D. 1500 in a remote section of Oruro Department of Bolivia today. Here is the retreat of the Chipaya Indians, the living people who can give us an idea of rural life in a distant corner of the great Inca Empire. The few hundred individuals of Santa Ana de Chipaya are the remainders of a once numerous people whose territory extended to the northern shores of Lake Titicaca. Their language, Uru-Chipaya, was called "one of the three main languages of the kingdom" by the sixteenth-century chroniclers of Peru, which included what is now Bolivia. Over the centuries the more powerful Quechuas and Aymaras have seized their lands, forcing them back into a region where life is particularly difficult. But they have made remarkable use of their harsh, ungenerous environment. In their isolation, they have retained their pre-Columbian customs more completely than any other Andean group.

And they are isolated. The modern world did not even know of their existence until it was reported by the famous Peruvianist Max Uhle toward the end of the nine-

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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Professor VELLARD from the University of San Marco, Lima, had been working for some time on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were the last survivors of the original population of the South American continent, certain authorities contend that they originally came up from the Amazon as they have a number of linguistic affinities with certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.

Once having reached the highlands, what regions did they populate? There is a belief that they extended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro, which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru', meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers, DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds them in low esteem, remarking that they have no talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

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THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO

By WESTON LA BARRE

IN THE giant reed, or *totora* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—*viz.*, scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungles is an absorbing anthropological riddle.[1]

Location. According to Polo, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Ahualla maya*, some 20 km. from Ancoaqui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ancoaqui*, on the left[2] bank of the Desaguadero, 23 km. from Lake Titicaca *Iruitu*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31′40″);

[1] The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Posnansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited the Uru for a week in 1931 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uru-Chipaya dictionary. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South America ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

[2] Métraux, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 26, p. 75) is in minor error in locating this *communidad* on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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Nazacara, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Ahuallamaya, a little n. of 17° s. lat.; *Simiñaque*, an islet in the Peruvian Desaguadero, 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, however, spoke Aymará); and *Sojapata*, 5 km. from the village of Desaguadero, in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the Urus"; it is an *estancia* where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that "In 1873 there existed the Uro *haciendas* of *Chearaque*, *Taguau*, *Tacacatani*, *Chicani-uma*, *Machacamarca*, *Urcuni-uma*, *Huallaqueri*, *Calayampani*, and *Tocavi* [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps *Taguau* (W.LaB.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero numbered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This figure of course includes Aymára, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.[3]

In March 1938[4] the population of Ancoaqui (*hanq'o-haq'e*, Aymará "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymára *communidad* of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the native who was the *ilacate* (head of the *communidad*,? from "alcalde") for the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past puberty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at Ancoaqui and the entire region as well in 1931.[5]

This Aymára *communidad* of Ancoaqui, in the midst of which the Uru town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of the Provincia of Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south, and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancoaqui and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference of a thousand meters.

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[3] José Toribio Polo, *Indios Uros del Peru y Bolivia* (Boletin de la Sociedad Geografico de Lima, 1901, 10: 445–482), p. 446. D. M. Jimenez de la Espada (in Neveu-Lemaire, *Los lagos de los Altiplanos de la América del Sud*, *La Paz*, 1909, p. lviii) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of *Chuchito*." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; *Chucuito*, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

[4] As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Amyára ethnography.

[5] Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The legal term "communidad" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymára politico-socio-economic organization of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the *altiplano*). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "Communidad"—as opposed to the term "finca" (="estancia," "hacienda") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so-named.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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[*de Indias*, Peru, 1: 82, Madrid, 1881] written in 1582, it is mentioned as "one of the three general languages of the kingdom." This would indicate that at that period it had a wider extension than we can now trace.

Brinton identified the "Puquina" of Ore with the Uru of Lake Titicaca, and has been followed by many authorities since. Raoul de la Grasserie agreed in the identification, giving the synonymy "Puquinas, known also by the name of Urus, Uros, Hunos and Ochomazos, etc." Ehrenreich also lists the "Uro or Puquina" linguistic stock, but notes a discrepancy with de la Grasserie:

> In the midst of the Kolya population there still dwell on Lake Titicaca remains of the much disintegrated Uru or Puquina, an independent group, whose language has recently been investigated by Uhle. The language treated under this name by Raoul de la Grasserie seems to belong to a different people.

Uhle informed Chamberlain in 1896 that the Uros of Iruitu [of the upper Desaguadero] were linguistically identical with those of the interior of Carangas, and concluded that once they probably occupied the region from Lake Titicaca almost to the Argentine frontier; at Iruitu ten men, fourteen women, and nine children still spoke Uru, with little difference from the Carangas dialect. But he too noted that "the Puquina-Uro of Raoul de la Grasserie is totally different from my Uro."[3]

More recently Métraux has done linguistic work with both the Chipaya of Lake Poopo (Carangas) and the Uru of Ancoaqui (Rio Desaguadero). The virtual identity of the two dialects he has well demonstrated, the Uru being purer and less corrupt, perhaps, than the Chipaya, of the group he calls "Uro-Čipaya." Careful comparison of vocabularies in Métraux with my own and Polo's make it clear that:

1. The Uru of Lake Titicaca and Rio Desaguadero and the Chipaya of Carangas form one linguistic stock.

[3] Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (New York 1891), pp. 223–224. Raoul de la Grasserie. *Langues Américaines: Langue Puquina, Textes Puquina Contenus dans le Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum de Geronimo de Ore* (publié à Naples en 1607 avec texte espagnol en regard, traduction analytique interlinéaire, vocabulaire et essai de grammaire, Leipzig, 1894), p. 67. (De la Grasserie used a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale; Brinton, according to Chamberlain, used a British Museum copy of Ore.) Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Ethnographie Sudamerikas im Beginn des XX Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Naturvölker* (Archiv für Anthropologie N. F. 3: 39–75, 1905), p. 65. Uhle, personal letter, dated Lima, May 17, 1896; cited in Alexander F. Chamberlain, *The Uran: A New South American Linguistic Stock* (American Anthropologist 12: 417–424, 1910), p. 418, from which this résumé is taken. See also M. Uhle, *Reisen in Bolivia und Peru* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Verhandlung 23, 1896), pp. 357–360; *idem*, *Ueber die Sprache der Uros in Bolivia* (Globus 69, 1896), p. 19.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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(but further complicating the matter by bringing in the dispute about the possible relationship of Atacameñan and Uran, which relationship he finally denies).[10] The problem, of course, awaits the attention of the linguistic specialist who shall have complete access to all the documents in the case. Garcilaso de la Vega, it is true, in his *Historia General de las Indias* listed "the Puquinas, Collas, Urus, Yuncas, and other Indian nations." But the Colla and Yunca were subdivisions of the Aymará-speaking stock, which weakens Chamberlain's citation of this as proof of the distinctness of the Uru and the Puquina. *Prima facie* evidence suggests that they are the same; meanwhile, where are we to find any considerable group in the Lake Titicaca region to have spoken the non-Aymará, non-Quechua "lengua general" of "Puquina" *except* the linguistically moribund and heavily Aymarized Uru-Chipaya?[11]

Name. The present-day Uru of the Rio Desaguadero have been given various names by chroniclers and ethnologists. De la Grasserie gives the synonymy *Urus*, *Uros*, *Hunos*, and *Ochomazos*, as well as the controversial "Puquinas"; Calancha, however, gives the name as *Ochozumas*, and Brinton *Ochozomas*. Posnansky says the name of the Uru for themselves is *Uchumi*, and their language *Uchumitaku;* they also call themselves *Kjotsuni*, but never "Urus" or "Puquinas." Métraux, however, found the Ancoaqui Uru

[10] Métraux (JSAP 27, 1934), p. 89. Eric Boman, *Les Antiquités de la Région Andine de la République Argentine* (Paris 1907–1908), pp. 67–73. Boman (p. 72) identifies the Desaguadero Uru with the Changos, also called "Uros," of the Pacific coast farther south, making them the pre-Quechua, pre-Aymará, pre-Yuncan aborigines of the Peru-Bolivia region. Chamberlain thinks they must have been Inca "colonists; so too Brinton (*American Races*, 221) who notes that Oliva (quoted in A. Bastian, *Culturländer des Alten Americas* (1878 Berlin, vol. 2), p. 93) averred some of them were found on the coast near Lambayeque. Since "Chancu" was one of the Aymará nicknames for the Desaguadero Uru, this coastal group of "Changos" may indeed be Uru. Wissler, *The American Indian*, 2nd ed. pp. 312–313, lists and maps a northern "Puquinan" stock and a southern "Uran" stock; but on the linguistic map of South America (Fig. 82) he places "Puquinan" north of Lake Titicaca, and "Uros" in northern Chile, apparently following Boman on this point.

[11] The possible Arawakan affiliation of the Uru-Chipaya is another matter. Rivet and Crequi-Montfort have discussed this problem at length. Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 402–403, suggests connections of the Chipaya with the Chané and the Arawakanized Chiriguano, on the basis of zoomorphic characters in myths; but he further suggests the possiblity that both the Chané and the Chiriguano got their mythical figures from the Aymará-Quechua general Andean folklore, as well as from the Uru-Chipaya. This second direction of diffusion appears to me more plausible: the myths Métraux (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67–102, collected from the Uru-Chipaya are nearly all tales identical with those of the neighboring Aymára. It is my opinion, however, that neither Nordenskiöld's nor Métraux' myth material is sufficiently specific in reference to bear any such burden of proof; some of them show Asiatic, Siamese, Shuswap, and Nootka parallels, *i.e.*, the data are pan-Amerind, indeed, proto- and pre-Amerind.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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calling themselves "Bukina" or "Pukina," which agrees with the synonymy of Ehrenreich, Hervas, *et al.* The "*Uroquillas*" of the early chroniclers appears to have meant the Uru; but Chamberlain's "Urinsaya" is the name of a *moiety*, not of the tribe, and is moreover an Aymará word.

Bertonio, a missionary of the late 16th century, gives the Aymará name, probably opprobrious, "*Kiuchacatati:* Big-livered [People], Nickname of the Puquinas." Chamberlain notes the Quechua name for the Uru as *Yuracare*, but Mossi says their Quechua designation is *Urocolla*. Paredes says the Aymára call the Uru "*Chancumankkeris*" [etymologized by my interpreter as *čanku-manq'eri*, lit. "water-*helecho*-eaters," i.e. eaters of the water-plants of the genera *Myriophyllum*, *Potomogeton*, *Clanaphora*, *Elodea*, and *Chara*] or "Chancu." The tradition was that their ancestors were brought from the Pacific coast by the great Colla or Aymára conqueror, Tacuilla, but the Aymára say that the "*achachila*" or place-deity of the Uru is the swamp itself, much as Mt. Illimani is the place-deity of the Aymára in its region. Neveu-Lemaire[12] says that the Uru were the group from whom the Inca exacted the famous tribute of lice.

Posnansky notes several place-names—Urubamba, Urupampa, Urmiri, Urucollo, Uru-Uru (Oruro), and others—which he believes incorporate the name Uru, but these are etymologizable in Aymará, in which language "uru" means "day," or according to some authorities "worm."[13] Polo suggests the implausible etymology from "uri" (Aymará "unconquered, brave"); but in the 17th century "uro" or "uru" seems to have been in current use in the sense of "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. A punning proverb, "De indio Uro ningun hombre esta seguro" ("No man is safe from an Uru Indian"), appears to testify to the treachery of an incompletely subjected minority.

Temperament. The temperament of the Uru has been spoken of in no very flattering terms by all who have known them. Acosta said that they were so brutish as not even to have considered themselves human: "Son estos *Uros* tan brutales que ellos mismos no se tienen por hombres." Garcilaso de la Vega called them "rudos y torpes," rude and stupid. Even the

[12] Neveu-Lemaire, *Los Lagos, LX–LXI;* this authority also says that the name of the Departamento of Oruro and its capital city in Bolivia comes from the reduplication "Uru-uru." Other authorities in this paragraph not heretofore listed: Arturo Posnansky, *Astropología y Sociología de las Razas Interandinas y de las Regiones Adyacentes* (La Paz, 1937), p. 59; Lvdovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara*, Iuli (Chucuito) [Peru] 2 vols. 1612 [facsimile edition, J. Platzmann, Leipzig 1869] vol. 2, p. 303; Honorio Mossi, *Diccionario Queshua* (Sucre, 1860); Rigoberto Paredes, *Mitos, Supersticiones y Supervivencias Populares de Bolivia*, 2nd ed. (La Paz, 1936), p. 25.

[13] In connection with the meaning "day" see the myth in Métraux JSAP 27: 395 ff.

11:Carter E-4,5 (1953, 1960-1961) 1965
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and sweets that could be purchased in La Paz. They could be presented any night when there was a full moon. In order to pay for them, each peasant contributed about eight cents (U. S.) for every cow he owned, for *totora* was the main source of fodder for the hacienda.

The *camana* of the lake received no usufruct rights for his work. His main recompense came from the wild duck eggs he could find among the reeds. At times these amounted to from 80 to 100 per day, and could either be exchanged with other peasants for their products, or sent to La Paz for sale. As a sanctioning arm of the community, the *camana* of the lake could take a forfeit piece of clothing or equipment from anyone who disregarded his rules. He could not keep them, however; they had to be turned over to the *jilakata* who would then release them upon receipt of a ransom of alcohol.

Those drawn into the tribute system just described were principally the heads of households. Except for the *camana* of the lake, they possessed house plots and farm lands in usufruct. Within nearly every hacienda, however, there were a number of mature males who had no usufruct rights. Some of these, called *utaguaguas*, or "house babies," were descended from outside families who had settled there, often in an attempt to escape an unbearable landlord.[1] These were the ones most likely to be selected for the office of *camana* of the lake. Other householders without direct usufruct rights were young people who had married, but who had not been assigned their own plots of land. The *utaguaguas* had no direct obligations whatsoever to the landlord of the hacienda where they settled. They lived off what products they could obtain from other peasants in exchange for labor. The young married couples, however, usually resided with parents or relatives and assumed part of the latter's hacienda obligations.

A person having full usufruct rights was known as a *persona*, or full man. Upon his death, if his usufruct right were divided between two sons, each came to be known as a *sulka persona*, or half-man, and had only half the obligations of a normal householder to the hacienda. If the usufruct right was further divided, it could give rise to *cuarta personas*, or fourth-men, each having one-fourth of the labor obligations of a full householder.

Every full householder had to take his turn at all the major rotative

1. It is possible that these house babies are descendants of the group referred to in colonial days as Urus. Numerous references in the 1567 document formerly cited indicate that the Urus were landless and poor and that they lived in lakeshore communities at the suffrance of the other Indians. Because of their poverty, they were often used by the *caciques* as house servants and rest house attendants (5, pp. 140, 146, 209).